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Before the invasion of the indonesian tropps, there were three main political parties : FRETILIN, UDT and APODETI. The latter wanted integration with Indonesia. There were also two smaller political parties wich were broadly labor and conservative the parties were tricked into signing a declaration that they wanted East Timor to be integrated into Indonesia

Now FRETILIN is the only party that remains , the others has comes together to form the one party of resistance. FRETILIN is therefore the popular front for all East timorian in the armed struggle against Indonesian. Politically, they have joined all classes and ethnics groups who have a nationalistic aim towards indepedance and self -determination. In 1983, FRETILIN created a council for all nationalists that belong to the other parties, now howether the only thing they fight for is self determination.

Before the invasion of Indonesia was broadcast on east timorist radio that FRETILIN was a communist organisation, and this report spread all over the world. Therefore , it became very difficult for FRETILIN to be recognised internationnally.

Just before the invasion strong leaders and members of the UDT and FRETILIN left East Timor and went to Australia and Portugal. These political exiles in 1986 organised a nationalist conference, united because of the atrocities commited by the indonesians troops .

Inside East Timor, the first leader of FRETILIN, who was ailed as a hero by the people, was killed in 1979. Xanana is now the leader. Xanana has said that the future independent East Timor would allow all political parties to participate the system of governement will be democratic with free elections. This proposal was presented to the U.N. and from 1983 Xanana has stated that an economically independent East Timor would be willing to accept foreign investment even from Indonesia.

There are 24.000 timorese refugees in Portugal 12.000 in Australia. After independence it is expected nearly all will return. In Portugal the refugees are help by social security but are very badly off, but have the same rigths as Portugese citizens - there are few jobs in Portugal. In Australia, when the refugees first arrived, the country helps them for six months. After this, they have the full rights of an australian citizen and are expected to look for work - there are many jobs in Australia. Many Timoreses fled to Australia in 1975, some have relatives still in East Timor and familyes reunion are arranged to the red cross if Indonesia aggrees. Australia wishes to show humanitarians feelings and so accept these people even those though it still supports Indonesia diplomatically. Indonesia doesn't mind if spme people leave East Timor occasionally as it sees this as a way to break down tension:

The Timorese before the invasion were mainly farmers and fishermen: and coffee was the main crop grown. The Portugese controlled the trade althpugh there was some enterprise which was jointly run between the Portugese and the Timorese.

In East Timor today there are people - Timorese who are employed in official positions in the government but these are only in puppet positions with no real power. The education system is now solely controlled by the Indonesians - language, history etc. There is only one Portugese school which is still open; it is church-run and is expected to be closed soon.

The church finds itself having to work indirectly. Some of the priests went into the bush with the Timorese fighters during the Indonesian campaign of 1978/79 but did not carry guns: and the Pope refused the request of the Indonesian Roman Catholic church who wanted the East Tomor diocese to become integrated. When Indonesia was invaded East Timor the diocese became directly under the Vatican control, whereas previously it had been under the Portugese diocese. Reports from East Timor are not sent directly to the Vatican, and they are generally found to have been changed or at least reduced before arriving. Everyday, people are going to the churces to ask for help. But Indonesia is building mosques.

The roman catholic church is very important for Indonesia, the church having builded many schools in wich the elite of indonesian governement was educated. The defense minister is a catholic who was educated in a Jesuit school, and many of the militaries leaders are also Catholics. Chrches in Indonesia are afraid of change because they believe that it will give more power to the Muslim majority so they think it is better to support the present regime.

The previous Roman Catholic bishop was a conservative man but when faced with the atrocities of the invasion became extremely vocla. So the Vatican ask him to leave and he complied. The present bishop, a Timorian, send a letter to the Australian RC (who support the Indonesian church) asking for a car for the diocese. The reply asked what they had done with all the money previously send. The Australian church has been financcially supporting the Timorese diocese through the Indonesian church, who it was discovered had kept some of the money and given the reminder to East Timor as a gift from itself. It should be noted that Indonesia allows six officials religions and all citizens must profess one of these faiths. Whoever doesn't is called a Communist and is killed.

Indonesia has hudred and fifty million peaple, and only a minority is aware of the East Timor invasion. Some just know that it is a province of Indonesia and the people are told that the Timorese are cannibals. Indonesia itself is a patchwork of peoples, a legacy of Dutch rule. They have said East Timor was previously a part of Portugal and now wich to joining us. Indonesia had thought fought against Dutsch colonial rule, they are anti -colonialist and one of the important founders of the non ligned movement (1955).

REGIONAL SITUATION

Indonesia has been influenced by the USA particularly in education and also by its own many cultures notably Java wich tried to dominate all Indonesia. The West has influenced East Timor, Portugal, etc... Most of the region received independence at the same time apart from Brunei. The differents coutries all had differing backgrounds pre independance - cultures religion,etc... Now these countries suffer internals problems and stay! they,re apart from!

of the Western system economically and with regard to defense.

The Association of South East Asian Nations C.1967 was formed to develop economic and cultural cooperation. Allé were dominated by the Western economy, they do not want to be part of N.I.E.O. They experience conflicts, all countries wishing to be leaders - rather they attempt to discuss and make arrangements economically, culturally and with regard to the military.

Indonesia want to play a role in the international fiels and had already done so particullarly between Cambogia and Vietnam. They also want to forge economics links with the USSR who has already recently increased economic activity in the country. At the general assembly of the UN the USSR votes in favor of Portugal, remembering that East Timor is not represented independently at the UN, Portugal being the administrative chief power.

Indonesia has been extremely clever diplomatically. In the Pacific region, there where several new very smalls countries such as Fidji Fidji. Indonesia is trying to become the promoter of the independance of these countries. It was the first to orgonise the movement of the Kanak people for independence from France. This made France very angry so they voted for East Timor against Indonesia. Before the coup d'etat in Fiji last year, the country was the most pro-US regim in the Pacific. At the election, the people voted for the labor party who decided not to allow US ships bearing nuclear arms to harbour in Fiji. Other small countries such as the Salomon Islands had a similar policy, they was big movement to free the Pacific of nuclear wapens. The US was furious and so prepared the coup d'etat in Fiji to reverse the situation. Indonesia immediatly agreed to the US-supported gevernement whereas it has not establishd relation with the previous gorvernement.

Japan has many interest in Indonesia. Japan was the first country to invest oil in Indonesia. Australia has also invested much money yet is afraid of Indonesia's military might. The ideology of Indonesia is expansionnist, they tried to get Malaysia in 1963, They took over West Papua, East Timor and perhaps want to go on. They see themselves in a real role of an Empire. The The military took over Indonesia in 1965 they follow an ideology of dual fonction

carrying out both military and civil laws.

Progress

In Indonesia, the society has no freedom at all. The country has achieved some important things for example they have managed to be self-sufficient in rice. This was not true in the last few years however. The society is structured in a hierarchy, which stretches from military to the peasants, there is no middle class: and all the merchants are military.

Before the invasion the Timorese were able to sell their own coffee harvest; but now there is only an Indonesian coffee buyer. None of the crop is allowed to be sold or given away to anywhere else. The Indonesians have built many apphemt rods in East Timor, all of which are controlled by the military and which are used to transport the troops: so they are of little if any use to the indigenous population. Hospitals and clinics have also been built, but medicines are only available to the troops. If a Timorese needs medicines then the prices charged are higher than they can afford. Schools too have been built, but they only serve to increase the amount of propoganda recieved by the Timorese. Last year the Indonesians broke many statues of Our Lady in the Timorese churches, and found that this only served to increase the anger of the people. So instead they have found another strategy and that is to try and bribe priests. They do this by offering to pay for a brand new, very beautiful chapel, and of course afterwards the priest in indebted... Simimaly the Indonesians will allow cathechists, that is those who tech the children the Catholic faith, but, they are called civil servants and must be paid for by the State. This means of course that they are effectively controlled by the State who will only allow them to speak on subjects with which it agrees.

Through all of the various factors described above, and many more, it can be seen that the Indonesian goverhements view of progress for the Timorese has been to create a relationship of DEPENDENCY by either destroying whatever went before or by the abuse of wealth.

After the invasion of East Timor, the people called on the international community to support the rights of the Timorese and Portugal became the major voice in asking for this help. And yet:

(1) East Timor remains in the lists of the Decolonisation Committee as a non-autonomous country, and is thus discussed anually.

(2) Since the invasion until 1982 it was discussed anually in the UN General Assembly, with each year more and more countries changing their support from Portugal to Indonesia. Therefore Portugal decided to call for a resolution that the General Secretary should approach both Indonesia and Portugal to seek a negotiated settlement. Since that time the country has not been discussed in General Assembly.

So then there are three levels of international understanding:

(1) State which give Indonesia the most support. These are often contradictory, for example the USSR always support the Timorese at the UN yet never diplomatically. Yugoslavia always attends the official celebrations in East Timor organized by the Indonesians.
The interests of the various states are then governed by a variety of different pressures -

i) Economic interest
ii) Strategy
iii) Arms to Indonesia
iv) non-aligned countries
v) Muslims
vi) OPEC

(2) Solidarity Movements
There is much parliamentary work being done of behalf of East Timor, and it has recently increased in Japan for example such that the group numbers 75 persons. There are a lot of campaigns, for example the US, Australia, Portugal - where it forms part of the parliamentary structure. In the Us the emphasis is mainly on the issues of human rights.

(3) Church Level

This has recently increased. The W.C.C. has been found in favour of East Timor amthough not pubnically making a statement because of the interests of the Protestant chnches in Indonesia. The Roman Catholic church follos a similar line.The United Church of Australia wrote a good document on East Timor which was published in October 1987. For the last four years an annual church conference has been held on East Timor in Europe, which will be held next year in Belgium. It is also coming onto the agenda of churches in Asia, Canada and the US. Solidarity groups can be found in many countries such as Portugal, UK etc.

So WHAT CAN WE DO?

Join you local solidarity group - the addresses for the differnt countries will be sent to the participants after the seminar.

There are also networks of groups which are against our countries selling arms to Indonesia - UK; Spain; France; Germany; US; Canada: get in touch with these groups...

The transmigration of the Indonesians to East Timor is being funded by the world bank WHY? What can we do to stop this?

The aim of all of us should be to provide INFORMATION and then to pepare actions against the Indonesian regime which incredibly has a GOOD world image. The first aim: TO DEMAND THAT THE TIMORESE TAKE PART IN ANY NEGOTIATIONS REGARDING EAST TIMOR.

To Discuss

For the Four cases of the Forgotten and Oppressed Peoples/

The problems of BORDERS
CONTROL OF POPULATION -schools, army; ideologies etc.
PROGRESS - as an argument for justifying foreign rule

Can we develop a solidarity movement between our four cases, can CMP think about something together maybe based on these themes? At the end evaluation, write down a possible follow-up.